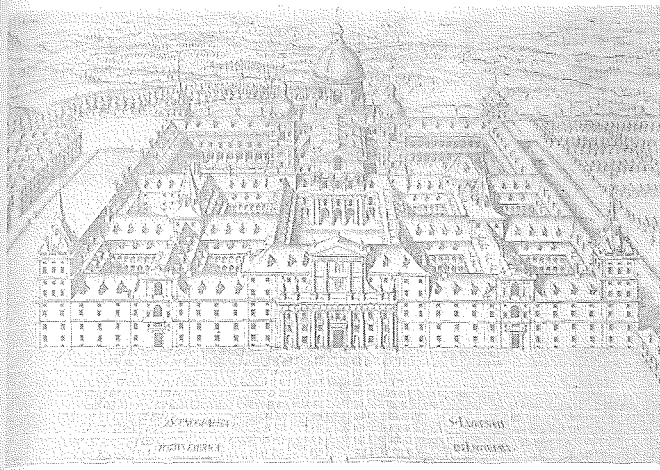
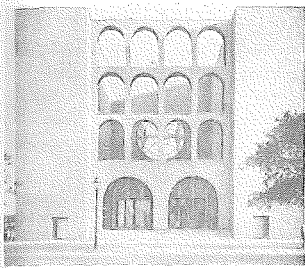


SPANISH ARCHITECTURE 1930-1940

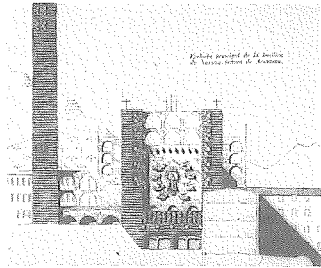
Carlos Sambricio



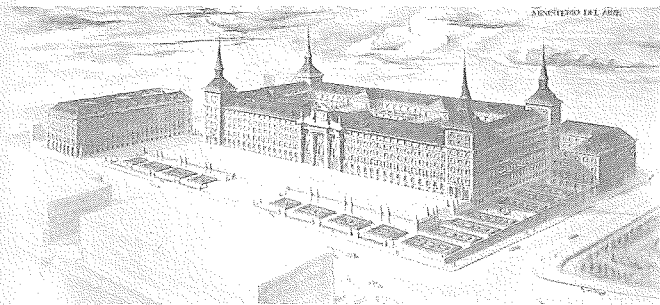
Juan de Herrera (1530-1597): Escorial Palace, near Madrid, 1559-1584



D Böhm: Facade for a church near Vienna

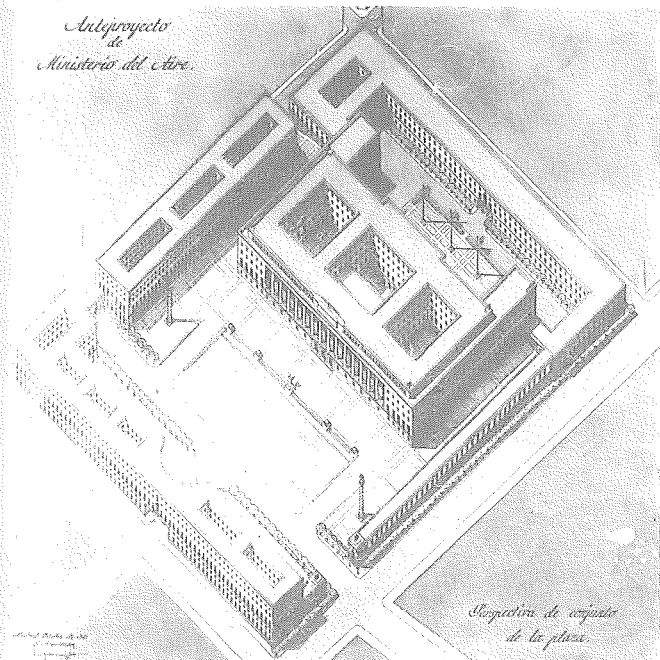


FJ Saenz de Oiza: Basilica of Aranzazu, 1949



Luis Gutierrez Soto: Preliminary scheme for the Air Ministry, Madrid, 1942

Luis Gutierrez Soto: Air Ministry project



The text analyzes the relation between the architecture which emerged in Spain during the Francoist Regime and the underlying socio-political structure; it explores the extent to which architects compromised with the Regime and its political institutions. The relationship of some architects to the power structure (represented by the traditional bourgeoisie), and, the development of socially-orientated projects suggests – according to the author – that Francoist architecture cannot be directly associated with Fascism.

The differences between Spanish architecture of the 1930s and 1940s have frequently been noted. The point has been made almost invariably without the support of critical analysis and often relying on clichés. Hence, the global condemnation of the architecture of the early Francoist period is based on subjective criteria or, at best, on criteria unrelated to the phenomenon itself. There is also a lack of understanding of the notion of 'Fascist Architecture' in Spain, the term being misleadingly used to embrace almost the entire architectural production of the 1940s. Often ridiculed and compared to kitsch, it is frequently contrasted to the image of the rationalist city of the social-democratic era, the memory of which became an idealized point of reference.¹ According to this view only when architects began to adopt the formal vocabulary of GATEPAC² was there a return to normality.

One factor is clearly referred to by post-war critics and researchers: the replacement of a *rationalist* architecture – broadly defined according to Le Corbusier's principles – by another form of architecture of seemingly novel appearance. A political-propaganda apparatus intent on glorifying monumental and historicist forms as new alternatives, actually dismantled the 'edifice' of rationalist architecture, so that the image of Fascist architecture generally embraced all post-civil war building, and became identified with the political-economic alternative of National-Syndicalism. In focussing our study on the architectural production which immediately followed the civil war we have to differentiate the 'official' architecture of the regime (covering the decade from 1940 to 1950) from the architecture which conformed to the ideological tenets of Fascism. Needless to say, we do not claim to have discovered hitherto undisclosed alternatives, of an architectural or ideological nature, neither do we intend to underplay the meaning of the tragic events of the 1940s. But to assume that the entire architectural production of this decade in Spain can be identified with a Fascist scheme would be unclear and mistaken.³ The very assumption that the new Regime had the ability to disrupt an architectural tradition clearly linked to the democratic process, and radically alter the country's foundations, both at the level of the superstructure as well as the infrastructure, appears now, in the light of recent studies, to be erroneous.⁴ In fact, from the very beginning, the Regime adopted a great many economic policies derived from the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. Also, the social class which had emerged triumphantly from the civil war was the very same one which enjoyed power during the last years of the previous dictatorship.⁵

Thus, even though we may appear to be adopting a mechanistic approach we would like to outline the process whereby architectural rationalism preconditioned the architecture created by the Regime during its first period of office. Let us establish first what we mean by *rationalism*.

While a conflict arose between the old and the new European bourgeoisie—and their corresponding ideologies—as a consequence of World War II, Spanish architecture was faced with the prospect of change.

There seemed to be two main alternatives for Europeans: Firstly a revolutionary avant-garde, identified with Taut and Gropius, which attempted to solve social problems through architecture. Concerned with a new people's art, it found in Social Democracy a platform for the diffusion of its schemes. Meanwhile, the old bourgeoisie attempted to modify its image, by simplifying classicist concepts: their scheme for change was based on an evolution of bourgeois traditional architecture, proposing new dimensions of craft construction, a return to detail, and, of course, the rationalization of structural elements. The latter followed Hoffmann, whereas the former, with their concerns for developing a new language of cubes and 'new' volumes followed the Loosian school. In Spain change occurred in a rather different fashion from the very beginning.⁶ In the first place, there was no question of a duplicity of alternatives, since in Spain there was only one, instead of two parallel bourgeoisies.⁷ The most a Spanish architect could hope for was to adopt and modify schemes belonging to the old bourgeoisie, which were still fixed in history and conscious of their own past. There was a return to classical ideas divorced from local tradition, while at the same time they attempted to distance themselves from the advocates of a 'national architecture'.⁸ The majority of architects saw themselves far removed from the intentions and ventures of the European avant-garde.

Figures such as Fernandez Balbuena or Lacasa agree with Walter Krab's, Frank's or Böhm's concerns regarding 'how the compositional elements often change, and how those mutations affect the formal relationship between the parts'⁹ in open contradiction to Taut or Le Corbusier who advocated, instead, the idea of an architecture based upon and defined by the cell, regardless of the mutations it might undergo. This might explain why a figure of Garcia Mercadal's stature could pass unnoticed outside Madrid¹⁰ in those years.

However, it is precisely during the 1930s that the Spanish bourgeoisie, which had emerged from Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, suddenly attempted to catch up with great European fashion. Barcelona became aware of the meaning and scope of European Rationalism, the fashion in vogue in Europe at the time, and it was soon followed by the rest of Spain. But it was only perceived as a fashion rather than as a more complex dialectical process. Hence, it is not surprising to find architects—until then staunch defenders of historicism and pastiche (such as Pedro de Muguruza and López Otero) attempting, at that time, to adapt themselves to the projects proposed and defended by the great bourgeoisie.¹¹

The effect of the military uprising on the architectural scene requires a revision of the concept of a 'break' in architectural continuity. Leaning heavily on the old bourgeoisie, which after all was the real victor of the war, the new Regime could not prevent it from retaining its 'own' architecture, despite numerous individual attempts at defining an architecture of the New Order. Differences between the old bourgeoisie and the National-Syndicalist influenced government sectors became apparent, thus exposing the inability of Spanish Fascism to project an ideological image of itself. Two images were offered then as possible models to be followed: on the one hand, what could be called Fascist architecture which was nothing but a variety of attempts at formulating an architecture of the New Order; on the other, the everyday architecture of Spain in those years, sometimes doubtful or uncertain, sometimes closer in spirit to 'imperial' designs, but most commonly drawing from rationalist sources. Fascist architecture in Spain inevitably focussed its attention on the contemporary realizations of Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany; it appeared to be an odd cultural venture undertaken by an ideologically bankrupt regime, reduced to scraping the barrel of its economic infrastructure for possible clues which were indicative of the New Order's image. A few architects were involved in this search, while

the great majority followed ideas which went back ten or fifteen years. Therefore the question of Fascism in architecture must be referred to German and Italian developments.

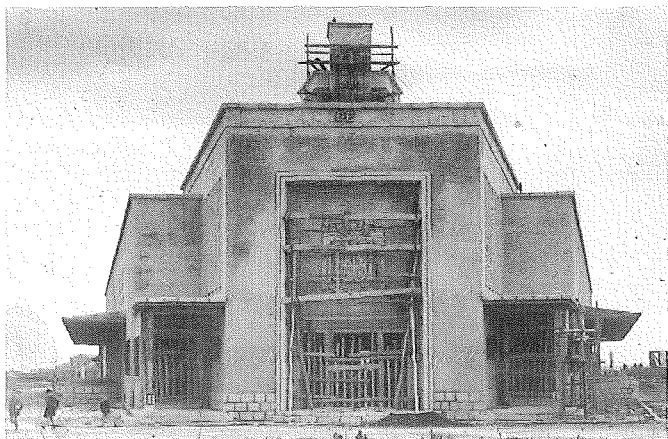
GERMAN AND ITALIAN MODELS

Dazzled by the realizations of those countries, only a few Spanish architects were able to appreciate the differences between their own principles and those of their mentors. Speer himself described how Germany, since the establishment of NSDAP, had formed an important propaganda office incorporating a small architectural bureau entrusted with the design of stages and decorations for the numerous party rallies. Reacting against the rationalism of Taut and Gropius and, to a great extent reappropriating Tessenow's models, attempts were made to refer back to Schinkel and Gilly who were then seen as legitimate German sources. Architectural forms evolved into truly monumental structures: the representation of the ideas of Nation and Government was of paramount importance. Monumental and domestic architecture became divorced from one another. Bonatz's Stuttgart Railway Station was discarded as a model, and was replaced by the projects of Speer or the projects of the late Troost. Architecture became an element of Party Propaganda.¹² The concept of Nation and the symbol of the flag were fused, as stated by Reich in *Mass Psychology of Fascism*.¹³ Monumental architectural gestures were used in order to dwarf the individual, subordinating him to the implicit, or actual, ruling leader. The State was identified with government and glorified in the political acts of the Third Reich. Hence, the concept of a German nation could only be understood in relation to its rulers.

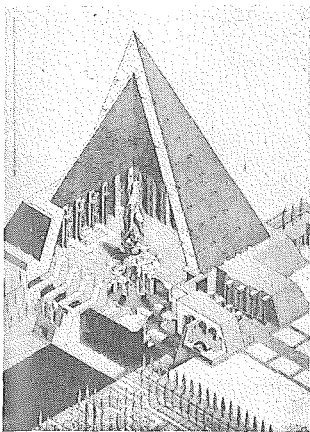
The Italian case presents different characteristics. Because of its early development with respect to other European movements, a number of different trends flourished among Italian Fascists, sometimes in open contradiction with each other. Whilst older architects supported classical architecture, younger rationalist groups such as 'Gruppo 7', or later 'MIAR'¹⁴ tried, in 1931, to find a new rationalist view of architecture, intimating a break with tradition and an open confrontation with the classicist tendencies of the times.¹⁵ Even though Italian academics and conservative circles played a much more dignified role than architects like Muguruza or López Otero in Spain, the rationalist alternative school lead by Pagano, contradicted the ideas which prevailed in Nazi Germany.¹⁶

SPANISH FASCIST ARCHITECTURE: A MEANINGLESS 'ATTREZZO' (TOOL)

Spain's problem is unique. Fascism did not come into being as the result of a misunderstanding, as in Italy. Neither did it pretend to break with the past by proposing futurist ideals for the New Order and the New Man. There is no comparable development in Germany either, where the Nazi party, through its experience in opposition, evolved alternative strategies which confronted all the old democratic schemes. Franco's uprising of 18 July 1936 should not be seen as yet another episode of military interference in politics, but as a fundamental episode of class confrontation. Although the new Regime attempted to answer all problems at an infrastructural level as well as a superstructural level, its newly organized propaganda machinery was unable to develop alternatives to the former ideology. The new state was theoretically seen as an embodiment of a New Order quite free from associations with its predecessors—a typically Fascist theme—but in reality the only alternative offered to the architects by the government consisted in a return to old attitudes belonging to a Fascist *attrezzo*. Attempts were made to 'characterize' architecture by superimposing various external symbols such as salutes, hymns, uniforms, ritual utterances... which only revealed the existing inner void. As an example, Luis Gutierrez Soto's Wholesale Market in Malaga, conceived within the 1930s rationalist tradition, was transformed by the addition of inscribed slogans such as *Franco, Franco, Franco, Long Live Spain and Spain, One, Great and Free... on the freize*. The same architect was to be involved in the gestation



Luis Gutierrez Soto: Wholesale market, Malaga, main facade, 1941

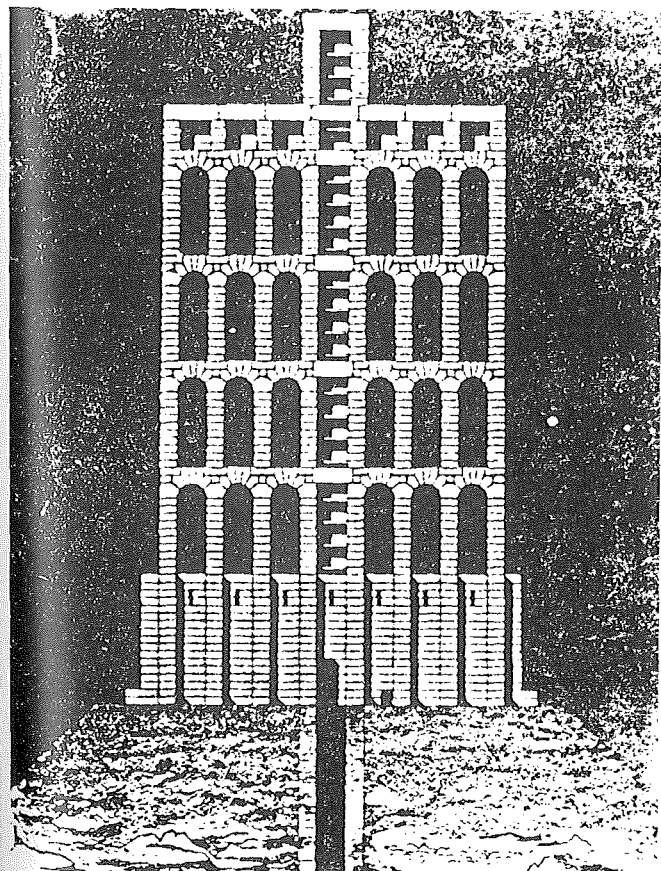


Luis Moya: Dream for National Exaltation, 1939



Luis Moya: Dream for National Exaltation, 1939

F Cabrero: Valle de los Caidos, 1942



of one of the crucial issues of Fascist architecture: the Ministry of the Air in Madrid. Gutierrez Soto designed two projects, or rather, one project on to which he grafted an alternative façade. From Albert Speer's *Memoirs*¹⁷ we know that of the two submitted projects he chose the second, historicist and inspired by the work of Herrera. Speer was most probably influenced by the favourable impression the Escorial made on him in his Madrid journey of 1941. But if one leaves aside the question of the mask-façade, and looks instead at the volumetric configuration of the building, it becomes apparent how the project was really more in line with Bonatz and thus related to the prewar schemes suggested by the Spanish bourgeoisie.

However, it is true that even though some architects proposed historical pastiche, others were aware of the need for an original identity suited to the New Order, while condemning the theoretical assumptions of the architects of the Second Republic. Second-rate literature of the period ridiculed not only individual realizations but also their preoccupations. The numerous attempts at dealing with airy and diaphanous spaces which glass and new structures rendered possible, were mocked as 'a desire to confuse man with landscape... of transforming him into a fish in a fishbowl... into a trans-Siberian traveller moving through life without a sense of Fatherland or a grasp of distinctive traditional features'.¹⁸ CIAM was thereafter labelled 'International Congress of Jewish and Landless Architects', its followers were openly criticized. One of the paramount preoccupations of those intent on divining a Spanish Fascist architecture consisted in finding a means of glorifying the nation, therefore establishing the fundamental importance of the symbol. The first architects assembly of the FET and JONS¹⁹ sketched ideas for the city an image of the New Order, focussing on urban reform rather than on a new architectural style.²⁰ This was a period of uncertainty and indecisiveness. Victor d'Ors and Luis Moya, as 'Theoreticians' of Fascist architecture, respectively produced a plan for Salamanca and an 'Architectural Dream for National Exaltation'.²¹ Designed in 1938, published a few years later in the Falangist magazine *Vertice*, the theme of the pyramid belongs very much to Moya's school and represents one of the first manifestations of historicist concepts. Moya, as a historian was familiar with the Enlightenment and was aware of the meanings attached to the pyramid during that period which relates to some of Kreis' projects. If the pyramid basically represents a celebration of the individual and a glorification of his memory for seventeenth century architects, it was enough for Moya to substitute the individual by the New State. This architectural dream, conceived during the war in Republican Madrid of 1937, was curiously similar to many characteristic elements of the architecture of the German Reich. The pyramid was not isolated, but surrounded by monuments which, to some extent, weakened its symbolic power; this project became an architectural ensemble which anticipated schemes such as the Valle de los Caidos²² war memorial near Madrid. The central element, surrounded by a series of parallel structures, reflects a similar dichotomy to that noted between Nation and State, as seen by German architects.

TOWARDS A HISTORICIST NOTION OF ARCHITECTURE

From this time great funerary structures were used to represent the mysticism of the New Regime. The monument to the *Martyrs of Pamplona*, realized by Victor Eusa, was placed within the city and took on the role of an important urban project inscribed within the New Order rather than a mere commemorative construction.²³ But the idea of a monument to the Nation, as conceived by Moya, gradually evolved towards a representation of the State and the Party Headquarters, clearly expressed in Olasagasti's *Great Party Headquarters* project where 'a ceremonial court large enough to hold 18,000 members' was proposed.²⁴ The monumental concept was soon accepted; the next question concerned the definition of an architectural language. Two types of schemes had existed in Germany of the 1920s where Bauhaus Rationalism co-existed with Schinkel-esque pitched-roof schemes, such as the work of the followers of Klein and Frank of early nineteenth century monumental historicism. Although there was concern in Spain for the definition of the architectural principles of the New Order,

Antonio Palacios had proposed already in 1940, a return to Neoclassicism, to the architecture of the Age of Reason.²⁵ It is important to highlight Troost's monumental influence on the Pamplona project, and to note how the architect's idea was centred on Kreis' *Party Headquarters* and how the same historicism was focussed on German architectural projects. Little remains of the interest shown in Italian Fascist architecture, which was well-known in Spain before the civil war.²⁶ Influential Spanish architects had visited Italy and had published articles on the reforms which had been affected.²⁷

The importance of historicist architecture had been already outlined in the early days of the New Regime by Antonio Palacios who pointed out the meaning of a Herrerian architecture. These ideas are somewhat similar to Rocabado's slightly earlier notions regarding the need for regionalist architecture as a reflection of Spanish genius, and therefore the old bourgeois ideals clashed with Fascist, avant-garde attempts to discover new solutions within the framework of a hypothetical new human dimension. The debate between historicist and German-inspired architecture degenerated into a sterile and self-centered discussion where the idea of architecture was reduced to a question of facades.

A RETURN TO CONCEALED NATIONALISM

A great number of Spanish architects 'unwillingly . . . and without attempting to engage in ideological confrontation'²⁸ resisted the adoption of historicism, proposing instead, more or less successfully, a disguised form of rationalism, only rarely manifested in a few cases. It is important to note how the old rationalist image presented an alternative of great interest to official architecture, thus dispelling, to our minds, any claims as to the demise of Nationalism in 1937.²⁹ In fact there was an explicit attempt to develop not so much the Cubist Rationalism popularised by the Bauhaus, but the alternatives proposed by Bonatz in his early work, as in his Stuttgart Railway Station. Bonatz's arrival in Spain in 1941 was greeted ironically from different sides. By some it was taken as an endorsement of the architecture of the New Order, whereas others, with immaculate anti-Fascist credentials saw him as a figure of hope within a confused scenario.³⁰ This rationalism evolved gradually and, is most clearly exemplified by Coderch's minimal constructions and later, by Fernández del Amo's projects in Vegaviana.

SOME FASCIST AVANT-GARDE ATTEMPTS AT THEORIZING

In reviewing the small group of architects committed to a search for an architectural synthesis of the ideals of the New State (strictly speaking the only ones who can ideologically qualify as Fascist architects), one must consider their study of the new themes which were so characteristic of their architecture. There is a constant stream of articles examining the question of the need for an appropriate style for the New State. An article was published in Barcelona³¹ about the way in which German architects were able to endow their work with a coherent character. These were the times when individuals attracted to Fascism, whilst deeply interested in architecture, published new architectural projects in literary magazines. Criticism was waged not only against Le Corbusier, but against other architects who also were supposed to be representative of this chaotic situation, in writings such as *Essays on Architectural Directives for an Imperial Style*. The group was concerned with issues and themes which could only be accepted and understood by its own members.³² Long before the war Gimenez Caballero had made a strong critique of 'Jewish and landless' art. His major texts *Rome the mother* and *Art and State*³³ explain the need to define architecture in relation to new Fascist ideas, albeit without passing judgement on this perspective. Neither did he acknowledge the differences between German and Italian architecture of the period (which he considered to be identical) and contradicted himself by criticizing CIAM-oriented rationalist architecture but praising Terragni. The architect closest to a falangist aesthetic and most determined to develop its imagery was Victor d'Ors. In various articles published in the *National Architectural Review* he hints at the directions that ought to

have been followed without ever defining this 'falangist aesthetic'. The mayor of Zaragoza, José María Sánchez Ventura and Moreno Torres approached the issue of low-cost housing, and from 1939 followed established rationalist criteria.³⁴

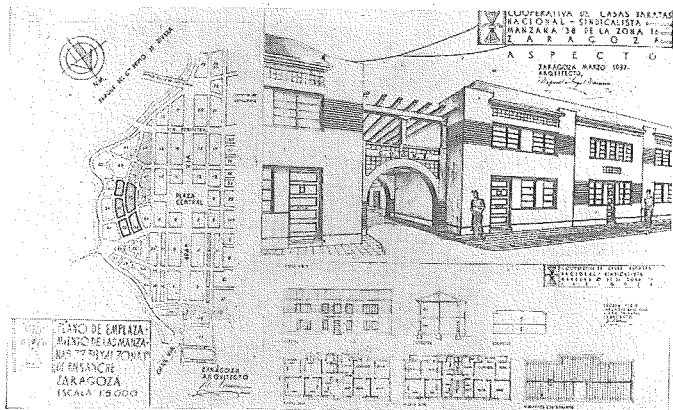
Despite everything, Fascist desire for an appropriate formal language never attained a synthesis. Only pseudo-historicist tendencies, inherited from the old bourgeoisie, rather than from the new aesthetes, flourished in Spain. Countless essays on Herrerian issues³⁵, as well as on Juan de Villanueva's myth were published for several years.³⁶ Those unwilling to follow historicist ideas turned their attention to German architecture: Oiza, for instance faithfully followed Domenikus Böhm in his project for the Basilica at Aránzazu: his approach was rather more dignified than rationalist schemes which were disguised behind a mask.

The architectural theme, to our mind, is of utmost importance because it denotes, more than any other aspect, the ideological framework under which it was conceived. That is why on those occasions, where the definition of an architectural language becomes an arduous task, the topical or repetitive use of architectural themes facilitates a branching-out into other areas. Spanish architecture, was initially centred on the German model and was confronted by the problem of providing large areas for mass gatherings. Projects like Olagastasis' above-mentioned *Party Headquarters*, with its colossal ceremonial court, were replaced, in 1942, by the concept of a large sports stadium. Werner March's arrival from Germany, as an expert in sports buildings, was linked to the project for a grandiose stadium to be built in the vicinity of Madrid; it was later to become the theme of architectural competition for the new Real Madrid Stadium, within which mass political gatherings were planned. Political changes in Europe prevented these plans from being realized and the stadium changed its name from 'Santiago Bernabeu' to 'Great National Stadium'. From 1945, what could be termed as 'spontaneous space' was preferred to formal gathering spaces, no doubt because of the fear engendered by the potential use of open urban spaces (*esplanades*) for political gatherings.

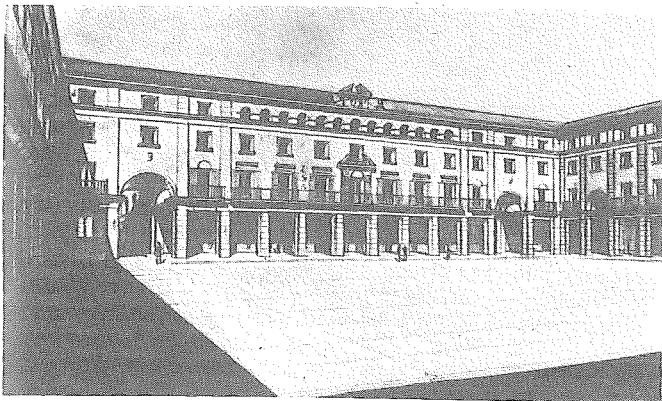
THE DOWNFALL OF NAZISM AS A REFERENCE

The number of references made to Nazism was gradually reduced from about 1945, due to the course of events in World War II. News of German architecture became rare, while, at the same time, the Italian architecture, which had been forgotten up to this point, was gradually brought forward as a model. Speer's exhibition glorifying Nazi architecture was still quite fresh in the mind. Nevertheless, one of the crucial themes, namely the reconstruction of devastated settlements was discussed (even then) in relation to both German and Nordic examples such as Harnak, Tronso, Narvik.³⁹ References to Sabaudia⁴⁰ and all other important Italian schemes were noticeable by their absence, and although the *Valle de los Caidos* memorial was already taking shape at this time, it is important to note that contemporary publications began to include articles and statements by Italian architects thus reflecting the country's new reality. It was then that architects like Bardi contributed to Spanish publications favouring a new architecture quite unrelated to Moya's mystical *Dream* or Cabrero and Aburto's *Monument to the Counter-Reform*.

Articles on Piacentini were published, naturally avoiding rationalist excesses; the image of the new exhibition area of Rome, EUR, could be contrasted to the *Valle de los Caidos* memorial.⁴¹ We should keep in mind that numerous Madrid architects (Gutierrez Soto and Juan del Corro, for instance) had been sent to Germany as promising young Fascist architects, so as to receive a technical education rather than to become involved with new ideas. But, despite it all, the magazines reflected the sense of frustration of those architects who participated in the Fascist adventure, resulting from the realization of the inability to develop their own models. The composer Manuel de Falla was insistently quoted as having composed music of a 'Spanish yet universal' level. These were the last days of historicism and crisis. The Trade Union Building in Madrid became a significant point of departure for an architecture which was focussed on Italy.

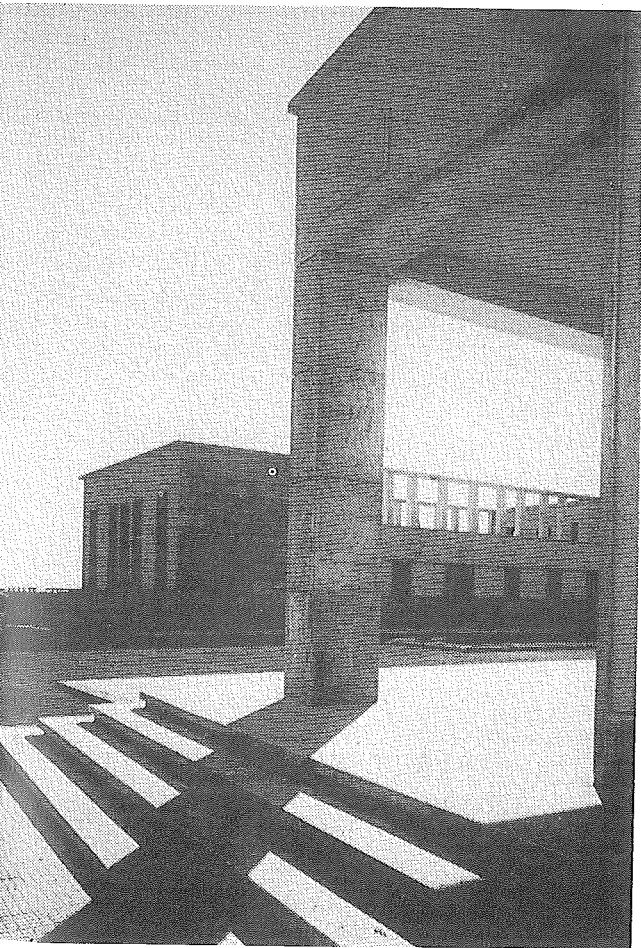


M Navarro: National-Sindacalist low-cost housing cooperative, Zaragoza, 1937



Tortosa: Plaza Mayor, 1941

Sabaudia, Italy, 1933



Criticism was waged from then on against Herrerian architecture and the tenets of monumental architecture. It is only when the first articles defending organic architecture appeared, and when Coderch openly proposed following the directives closer to Aalto and to the Italians, that the crisis of the Spanish bourgeoisie came full circle. The reaction against artificial bankrupt historicist architecture demonstrated the extent to which Francoism was able to accommodate different ideas, changing images with ease and at great speed.

The question of Fascist architecture in Spain is more concerned with the theoretical utilization of historical concepts than with its more or less successful realization. For although the Regime wanted to totally change the sense of its architecture, after an arduous route from the 1920s to the 1940s it was only capable of returning to the point of departure, to a senseless historicism adopted by those architects who resisted change. The New Order was unable to reduce the Rationalist process into oblivion: indeed its culmination is post-war architecture. Determined to destroy Rationalist architecture, it failed to understand that its achievement lay precisely in defining an architecture clearly linked to previous architectural developments of the Republican period. The eclectic character of some of these architects is not, therefore, of great importance. Gutierrez Soto himself had been shrewd enough to develop rationalist, folk and populist styles. . . unable to be limited by a restrictive theoretical framework; his answer was to revert to pastiche.

It is important then, to draw a distinction between what could have become of a Herrerian Historicism and the dreams of a small group of Fascist architects for the city of the New Order. This crucial question of the development of the Fascist City has not been considered in this paper but is the subject of further study.⁴²

Footnotes

1 This essay is intended as an initial enquiry into the question of architectural developments of the period. Unexpectedly, it became apparent that Italian groups such as *Gruppo 7* and *MIAR* were given a very limited publicity despite their acknowledged Fascist aims. See L. Patetta: *L'architettura in Italia 1919-1943*, Milan, 1972; C. De Seta: *La cultura architettonica in Italia fra le due Guerre*, Bari, 1972; G. Veronesi: *Difficoltà politiche dell'architettura in Italia*, Milan, 1953; G. Veronesi: *Edoardo Persico, Scritti d'Architettura (1927-1935)*, Florence, 1968.

2 *Gatcpac* - 'Catalonian Artists and Technicians for the Progress of Contemporary Architecture', and its Spanish version *Gatepac* - 'Spanish Artists and Technicians for the Progress of Contemporary Architecture'. Avant-garde groups established first in Barcelona in 1931, then in Madrid, at the time of the proclamation of the Second Republic later in the same year. Affiliated to CIAM and involved in the writing of the Athens Charter. Active and influential until the outbreak of the Civil War in 1936.

3 This assumption has been made by most authors investigating the cultural developments of the years following the Civil War. Carlos Mainer in *Falange and Literature*, Barcelona, 1971, quotes from *Rome the Mother* by G. Caballero, comparing it with *Art and State* without clarifying how rationalist precepts could be preserved.

4 Santiago Roldan, J. L. Garcia Delgado, J. Muñoz: *Consolidation of Capitalism in Spain*, Madrid, 1974. The book explains how the bourgeoisie, which emerged from the war, resulted from the economic developments of the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera, who came to power in 1923 through a coup. Carlos Moya in *Economic Power in Spain (1939, 1970)*, Madrid, 1975, correctly analyzes the evolution of Spanish society in the 1940s.

5 Chronology of political events in Spain:

1931 King Alfonso XIII leaves the country, the Second Republic is proclaimed

1933 Right wing wins general election

1936 Left wing wins general election in February. Outbreak of civil war in July

1939 Civil War ends. RPA.

6 The author studies the pre-war period in Spain in the prologue to H M Wingler: *La Bauhaus Weimar Dessau, Berlin, 1913-1933*, Barcelona, 1975.

7 In relation to similar experiences in architectural culture of the 1920s in Europe cf. G Grassi: *Costruzione logica della Architettura* Padova, 1967; M Tafuri: *Dialectica de la Vanguardia* in *'De la Vanguardia a la Metropoli'*, Barcelona, 1972; 'Social Democrazia e Città nella Repubblica de Weimar', *Contropiano*, 1971; 'Austromarxismo e Città, das Rotte Wien', *Contropiano*, 1971.

8 An architectural tradition is traced in V Lamperez's articles on Spanish popular architecture and GF Balbuena: 'La Arquitectura Humilde' both in *Construcción Moderna*, vol 20, 1922, and F Capurro's articles in *Santo y Seña* no 8, August 1942. Popular architecture was initially understood as an archaeological question, then there was an interest in its rationalist aspects and in the suppression of a formal aesthetic, and finally, the Fascist concern for a populist aesthetic proposed it as a foundation of the new architecture. The author also quotes various articles in Spanish about the subject. The references can be found in the Spanish original of this article.

9 G Grassi: op cit

10 For a long time, and particularly when rationalist concepts were identified with Le Corbusier, Mercadal appeared as the only historical rationalist.

11 Muguruza and López Otero's work is of great importance to the understanding of the contradictions which characterized Madrid at the time. The former represents historicist, rather than populist views. For his work see 'P Muguruza Otaño' in *Arquitectura Contemporanea en España*, 2nd volume 1933 and *Cien dibujos de Pedro Muguruza Otaño*, Madrid, 1943. López Otero was initially influenced by American architecture, and, as a consequence of his historicist education, began to develop schemes such as the Spanish Pavilion in the Cité Universitaire, Paris. Neither represented the centralized state. They were both influential throughout Spain, perhaps with the exception of the region of Barcelona.

12 *Ideas Generales sobre el Plan Nacional de Ordenación y Reconstrucción* Madrid, 1939, published by FET and JONS technical services, Architecture Section, clearly specifies the objectives of post civil-war architecture. Also, J M Sanchez Ventura: *El problema de la vivienda barata*, 1948. The clearest example of architecture as an element of propaganda is to be found in Muguruza's *Fondo y Forma*, No 1, where historical determinism was proposed. Palacios highlights the need for a link between the architecture of the New Regime and the concept of the new Party, as he understands it, in a commemorative speech delivered in Madrid in 1945.

13 Wilhelm Reich: *La Psychologie de Masse du Fascisme*, Paris, 1972.

14 L Patetta: op cit, see note 1.

15 It is interesting to compare M Piacentini: *Architettura d'oggi* Rome, 1930, with *Architettura Rivista del Sindicato Nazionale Fascista Architetti* Milan, 1933, no 12, and the catalogue *Quaderni della Triennale* by Pica and Pagano, 1936.

16 It is important to note that Figini, Pollini and Pagano collaborated with the most important pre-war Spanish Rationalist magazines.

17 A Speer: *Au Coeur du Troisième Reich*, Paris, 1971.

18 'The word "modern" was mentioned, the name and myth of Le Corbusier were recalled.'

I saw then how my interlocutor's expression changed as though it was difficult for him to hide his repulsion. He then expressed his annoyance:

'My god, but Le Corbusier is not even an architect! And he has caused so much damage through his work and his publicity.'

-So, how about modern architecture?

-It is disappearing just as aesthetic eccentricities are disappearing'

Revista Nacional de Arquitectura, 10-11, p 65.

'And the oblong glass constructions suspended in the air between concrete and steel begin to confuse man with landscape to transform him into fish in a fishbowl, or into a trans-Siberian traveller moving through life without a sense of fatherland or a grasp of distinctive traditional features' E J Caballero: *Arte y Estado* Madrid 1935, p 53.

19 *FET de la JONS* - a fusion of the *Falange Española*, the nearest approach to a Fascist party in Spain, and the Carlists, a classic right wing catholic party, rejecting the 'liberal' monarchy represented by Alfonso XIII in favour of the claims of the descendants of Don Carlos. This was the only political party in Spain under Franco. RPA.

20 Victor d'Ors comments on Fernando Chueca's book on *Invariantes Castizos*, noting that *the idea of invariants had already been proposed in the first architectural congress of FET and JONS*. J Caballero's comment on 'Art and Fascism' in *Roma Madre*, op cit, mentions the invariants of Spanish architecture vis-a-vis the 'pro-communist' ideas of Le Corbusier.

21 The architect Luis Moya, the sculptor Manuel Laviada and Vizconde de Uzqueta, a military consultant, published in *Vertice* no 34, September 1940: *Sueño Arquitectónico para una exaltación Nacional*.

22 Basilica of *Valle de los Caídos* (Valley of the Fallen), a grandiose scheme built in the mountains near Madrid as a vast monument to the *Crusades*, Franco's holy war against the Republic. RPA.

23 Eusa also designed a project for a mausoleum to Italian legionaries killed in the Spanish War 1936-1939.

24 The theme *Party Headquarters* was first mentioned in *El diario de Cadiz*, 2 September, 1943. Only one photograph has been published in *Fotos*, 334, July 1943. The project indirectly follows the argument of *The aesthetics of mass gatherings* in *Vertice*.

25 Antonio Palacios: op cit. Various essays of great interest were published in Spain, a few years before the war, about the characteristics of the architectural rationalism of the 17th and 18th centuries, offering similar interpretations to contemporary studies. There are important articles on Neo-classical architecture published after 1939, such as a study on Schinkel published in the *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, no 12.

26 López Otero represented Spain at the International Congress of Architecture, Milan 1933, featured in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, 8, 1933; also in *Boletín Informativo del Colegio de Arquitectos*, Madrid, no 49, 1933. Ramiro Nicolás published a study on Italian Fascist architecture in *La Construcción Moderna*, vol 32, 1934.

27 L Otero, A Bimeno and the head of the Madrid Architects Institute, Sains de los Teneos.

28 C Sambricio: *Introducción al estudio de Luis Lacasa*, Colegio de Arquitectos, Madrid.

29 Oriol Bohigas: *Arquitectura Española de la Segunda Republica*, Barcelona, 1970.

30 Two lectures by Paul Bonatz on 'Collaboration between architects and engineers in bridge building' and 'Modern and Traditional Architecture' are published in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, no 16-17.

31 Basegoda published an interesting article on New German architecture in *Destino*, 31 October 1942, but an article by M Brunet in the same issue contrasting Italian and German architecture entitled *Arquitectura Política*, which copies Bardi's articles in Italian magazines, is also of interest.

32 Diego de Reina: *Directrices Arquitectónicas de un Estilo Imperial*, Madrid, 1944.

33 E Gimenez Caballero: op cit.

34 It would be important to investigate the activities of 'Regiones Devastadas' (a government service created in 1938 for the reconstruction and colonization of devastated regions) and also the role played by José Moreno Torres and by Cardenas. 'Regiones Devastadas' issued the magazine *Reconstrucción*. A special issue (No 3, 1940) summarized the work of this institute. For information on Helger, and the northern cities of Norway, see W Hegemann: *City, Planning, Housing*, New York, 1938.

35 Juan de Herrera, 1530-1597, favourite architect of Philip II, designer of the Escorial Palace and Valladolid Cathedral. Juan de Villanueva, architect of the El Prado Palace in Madrid. RPA.

36 The study of historicism should include the study of the not clearly understood post-civil war architecture, even though it does not relate to d'Ors; conclusions.

37 Werner March visited Spain in 1944 and featured in *Revista nacional de Arquitectura*, no 33, 1944. No doubt accepted the ideas contained in *FET y JONS, technical services of architecture*, which promoted the concept of a great National Stadium. The competition for Real Madrid's stadium was featured soon afterwards in issue no 34, 1944.

38 A Speer: *German New Architecture*, Berlin 1941; *Reconstrucción*, October 1942, no 26.

39 See note 29.

40 Otto Bünz and Abercrombie practically monopolized the image of Western Urbanism. References to Italian urbanism were scarce until the mid 1940s.

41 The project for the *Valle de los Caídos* was published in *Revista Nacional de Arquitectura*, 10-11. It is interesting to consult Muguruza's version.

42 C Sambricio: 'Ideologías y Reforma Urbana: Madrid 1920-1940', *Arquitectura*, no 198, 1977.

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For a more complete bibliography see the references in the original Spanish version of this article; C Sambricio: 'Por una posible Arquitectura Falangista', *Arquitectura*, no 199, 1977.

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